

THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

Vol. XL.] WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY, 1864. [No. 2.

FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

DECEASE OF FRIENDS.

While the mortality among the friends and benefactors of this Society has not been unusually great during the year, the State Societies record the decease of several distinguished and liberal advocates of the cause. The names and virtues of these friends are commemorated by the Societies with which they were more intimately associated, though many of them have generously contributed to the prosperity and funds of this Institution.

Four Vice Presidents have also departed this life since the last meeting of this Society, viz: Rt. Rev. James H. Otey, D. D., of Tennessee, Gen. John S. Darcy, of New Jersey, Thomas Henderson, Esq., of Mississippi, and Hon. J. J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.

This Society cannot pass in silence the decease of that eminent patriot and Christian, Admiral A. H. Foote, whose voice of benevolence and encouragement has repeatedly cheered the progress of this Institution, and who, at our last anniversary, expressed his deep convictions of the wisdom and beneficence of this Society; nor the

death of the Rev. Robert Baird, D. D., an early and steadfast supporter of our great enterprise, and whose unceasing efforts in behalf of evangelical religion gained for him thousands of warm friends throughout the world.

Liberia has also suffered during the year the loss of her first Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. Francis Burns, who adorned the Christian ministry on her shores for many years, and bequeaths to the churches of that Republic a precious memory and an undying example.

EMIGRATION.

The Mary Caroline Stevens left Baltimore for Liberia on the 25th of May last, taking twenty-six passengers, and several missionaries destined to Sierra Leone and its vicinity. The Executive Committee were induced to dispatch this expedition, notwithstanding the small number of emigrants, to keep up its regular intercourse with Liberia, to introduce animals much needed, and, by trade, to diminish the necessary expenses of so large a ship and so long a voyage.

FINANCES.

The Treasurer's report shows a total receipt during the year ending December 31, 1863, of \$50,900 36, and the disbursements \$35, 719 95;—leaving a balance to the credit of the Society of \$4,482 88, and of the Government of Liberia for recaptured Africans of \$23, 214 66.

AUXILIARY STATE SOCIETIES.

Brief reports have been received from several of these Societies, showing undiminished confidence in African Colonization. The great excitement of the times, the urgent claims of many other benevolent objects, the impression that our Government had appropriated a fund which might be applied to colonization, and the small number of emigrants that had avowed a purpose of removal to Liberia, have prevented the employment of agents by State Societies, and very large accumulations of funds. But they have continued to exert and extend a salutary and wide-spread influence in favor of the cause, and, by their writings and appeals, by the

personal influence of their members, and contributions to Liberian education, to aid one great branch of its interests, and that which is not the least vital in the prosperity of the cause to which they are devoted.

UNITED STATES CONSUL-GENERAL.

The last year has been the first during which Liberia has been acknowledged as independent by the Government of the United States. The recent appointment, by our Government, of the Hon. Abraham Hanson, to Wisconsin, as Commissioner and Consul-General to Liberia, meets the approbation of some of her best citizens, and we believe will aid the cause of African improvement and civilization. Mr. Hanson has spent several months at Monrovia, and shown an earnest desire to promote the interests of that Republic.

BIENNIAL ELECTION OF PRESIDENT.

The election, on the 5th of May, of the Hon. Daniel B. Warner, as President, and the Rev. James M. Priest, as Vice President, without agitation, and by large majorities, showed a determination of the people to discharge their highest civil duties with order.

PRESIDENT BENSON IN EUROPE.

The reception shown to President Benson, and other distinguished citizens of Liberia, during their visit to England and the continent, was noticed in our last Report, though little was said of the benefits anticipated from that visit. The treaty negotiated by our Minister, Mr. Adams, and President Benson, on the 21st of October, was subsequently ratified by the United States and Liberia.

Several important subjects were brought to the attention of the British Government, and H. M. Minister of Foreign Affairs was pleased (says President Benson to the Legislature) "to express in person every assurance of the best feelings of H. M. Government, as well as of himself individually, for the welfare and success of Liberia."

The difficulties in determining the northwest boundary of Liberia are yet unsettled. A joint commission was appointed by the two Governments, but they arrived at no satisfactory conclusion. With

this exception, the relations of Liberia to foreign countries, as well as to the native Africans, are those of amity, and improving social and commercial intercourse are highly conducive to the progress of civilization on the African coast.

LIBERIA COLLEGE AND EDUCATION.

In his letter of September 25th, Ex-President Roberts says: "I am gratified in being able to state that thus far since its opening, everything relating to the College has advanced satisfactorily, and its present prospects, I think, are as encouraging as could be reasonably expected—though, as yet, we are greatly in need of funds for various purposes, especially of a few scholarships, to aid several deserving young men who are anxious to avail themselves of its advantages, but who are not able entirely to support themselves in the College, while pursuing a course of studies."

At the end of the second term, 15th of July, last, the students were examined, in presence of the Executive Committee and a goodly number of citizens, and acquitted themselves well—quite to the satisfaction of all present, on the following subjects: English Language and Literature, Scripture, History, Elements of Moral Science, Algebra, Greek, Latin, and French. The term closed with nine students in the College proper, and twelve in the preparatory department. The third term commenced with three additional students in the College, and two in the lower department. Three of the students are beneficiaries of the New York State Colonization Society; the others are supported by their parents or relations.

The New York State Colonization Society is much impressed with the importance of giving permanent support to this College, and to that end recommend the establishment of scholarships, and the Board of Trustees for Education highly approve the object, justly deeming the cause of education in Liberia essential to its honor and prosperity.

Three young men have been supported in preparations for the College from the income of the Bloomfield fund, and will be assisted during their College course by the application of this same fund, through the New York Colonization Society. The same Society has

resolved to provide for the salary of the Rev. Edward W. Blyden from the income of the Joseph Fulton Professorship fund.

Martin H. Freeman, A. M., a graduate of Middlebury College, Vermont, and for the last twelve years, principal of Avery College at Alleghany City, Pa., is preparing to embark for Liberia, having been appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the College of that Republic. John P. Crozer, Esq., President of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, has generously subscribed \$1000; the Rev. Franklin Butler engages to secure an equal amount from friends in Vermont, and John Cox, Esq., of Philadelphia, has kindly agreed to give \$500 toward the sum of \$4000 required for the support of Professor Freeman for five years.

The Government of Liberia and the Trustees of the College have shown an earnest resolution in the cause of education. The number of schools authorized by the Legislature is sixteen, to be increased by those to be established in Bassa County, and opened as early as teachers can be obtained. The Legislature also appropriated \$500 to establish a Preparatory Department to the College. This is regarded as but a temporary arrangement; since the Monrovia Academy, the Alexander High School (to be established at Harrisburg, on the St. Paul's) and the Episcopal High School, at Cape Palmas, will all be prepared to qualify young men for College.

RECAPTURED AFRICANS.

These Africans are reported as improving rapidly in intelligence, morals and industry, and skill in their labor. A distinguished minister of the Gospel wrote early in the year from Monrovia, that in the general they are making progress in civilization and in the knowledge of God and of His Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. He mentions the addition of a number to the various churches, in different districts of the Republic, and to their ready attendance at the churches and Sunday schools on the St. Paul's river. The Rev. John Seys, the Agent of the United States Government, to protect the rights and advance the interests of these Africans, testifies that "no place could be selected on the face of the earth, where the same expenditures of money, effort, and care would result in the same amount of good—physically, morally, politically, and spiritually—to the Africans taken by our cruisers, as in the Republic of Liberia." About

forty of these Africans, placed by the Liberia authorities at a settlement called Ashmun, near the falls of the Sinoe river, have conducted themselves well, not only supporting themselves, but supplying the town of Greenville with the products of their industry. A letter from an intelligent citizen of Greenville, of the 18th of September last, states that, with two others, he had visited this place, and looked into the condition of the recaptured Africans, and was much gratified to find that a school is established by the Government for their benefit, that a minister of the Methodist Church is in charge, and religious services performed every Sabbath, and that devout attention is given to these services. From various sources we learn that these Africans add very largely and essentially to the Agricultural labor of the Republic. One of the largest sugar growers on the St. Paul's river thus testifies to the capacity and industry of those apprenticed to him :

"My entire farming operations are carried on with them (Congoes) and some few Golahs. My steam mill has for engineer a Vey boy. My sugar-maker, cooper, and fireman are Congoes, and their entire acquaintance with the material parts have been gained by observation. At wood chopping they cannot be excelled. Seven boys or young men have in three weeks' time cut one hundred and seventy-five cords of wood ; and when I tell you how they managed thus to do, it will be but another fact to prove that the hope of reward sweetens labor. These boys are my apprentices, and they cut each, as his week's work, five cords of wood and put it up ; for all they can cut and put up over that quantity I pay them fifty cents per cord. So you see, in three weeks' time they make for themselves twenty-five dollars. My cooper is far in advance of many Americo-Liberians, who style themselves such ; likewise my sugar-maker."

CAPACITY OF LIBERIA.

From an able article, published in the *Boston Courier*, by the Secretary of the Massachusetts Society, the Liberia Republic has an extent of territory of 15,276,000 acres. Dr. Tracy says : "Allowing 276,000 acres for waste land, which is an extravagant allowance, there remain 15,000,000 acres ; that is, lots of ten acres each for 1,500,000 families ; and these families, at four persons each, would amount to

6,000,000 inhabitants; more by upwards of a million than all the colored people in the United States and in Liberia. The African equivalent of a log cabin may be built in a few days, at an expense of five dollars, and is expected to last five years. With a few weeks' notice that they will be wanted, they may be ready at any time in any number. No emigration made with deliberation and forethought, need be restricted on this account."

PRODUCTS, INDUSTRY, AND TRADE OF LIBERIA.

The visit of Edward S. Morris, Esq., to Liberia, has done much to awaken a new spirit of agricultural and other improvements among her people, and more especially to convince them that in the culture of the coffee-plant, they have an exhaustless source of wealth. Having cherished for some years a warm interest in African civilization, participated in the councils of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, corresponded with some of the ablest citizens of Liberia, his zeal rose to enthusiasm, and taking with him the best machine of which he had any knowledge for hulling and cleaning coffee and preparing it for the market, he visited Liberia, repeatedly addressed her citizens, inspired them with agricultural resolution and hope, and showed them that in the cultivation of the rich productions of the tropics, they possessed advantages over most nations of the world. We believe that the visit and addresses of Mr. Morris made a deep impression upon the people of Liberia, and will contribute largely to the skill, energy, and profitable results of their agricultural industry.

The Massachusetts Society states, in its last report, upon the authority of the Liberia Herald, that the exports of sugar from Monrovia during the last fiscal year, ending September 30, 1862, were 14,892 pounds; for the next six months, 31,331 pounds, of which 28,176 were sent to the United States, and 2,708 pounds to Sierra Leone. Of coffee, 9,102 pounds were exported to the United States, and 230 to Sierra Leone. The total exports from Monrovia for the first of these periods was \$14,204 50; for the second, \$72,757 82.

The Legislature of Liberia, at its last session, passed an act restricting the trade of foreign vessels to ports of entry after January 1, 1865. This restriction will enable the Government to collect duties on all imports, which has hitherto been impossible.

At the last International Exhibition in London, 123 articles from Liberia were exhibited, presenting a variety of manufactured articles, both native and Liberian. At a meeting of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, May 21, Lord Alfred Churchill, M. P., in the chair, honorable notice was taken of these articles by G. F. Wilson, F. R. S., a gentleman appointed as one of the jurors of that Exhibition.

A paper, read by Gerard Ralston, Esq., Consul General of Liberia, on the Republic of Liberia, its products and resources, containing much information, was highly commended, and the audience was addressed by President Benson, Ex-President Roberts, Colonel O'Connor, formerly Governor of the Gambia, and Captain Close, of the Royal Navy, who had commanded on the African coast.

Mr. Ralston wrote to the Secretary of the Massachusetts Society: "The timber of Liberia, such as we saw at the International Exhibition, is of excellent quality, and would be much used, if it could be obtained here. For coffee, sugar, and particularly cotton, the demand is for inexhaustible quantities. All the Lancashire spinners say, that the Liberian cotton is the best substitute for the middling New Orleans quality, of which four million of bales are annually wanted in Europe."

ENGLISH COMPANIES FOR AFRICAN TRADE.

Several large companies are organized in Great Britain, to prosecute commerce with that country. The West African Steamship Company has a capital of £250,000, or \$1,250,000, in 25,000 shares of £10. Consul-General Ralston is one of the Directors. We understand that the Company intend to apply to the Post Office Department for a renewal of the contract for carrying the mails, to and from the coast of West Africa, extending their route some 1,600 miles further to Loando. It is proposed to have a ship leave England once a fortnight, instead of monthly, and efforts will be made to have the line touch at Monrovia, as well as at Cape Palmas, which will give much additional facility for trade to Liberia. The great object of the Company is to establish agencies, factories and depots on the coast of Western Africa, to bring down the valuable products of the interior to those factories and depots on the coast, and thereby to open up, in exchange for British manufactures,

a practically illimitable market for cotton and other products, and to secure their transmission to the ports of the United Kingdom. Persons acclimated, native merchants and others are employed by the Company, or are ready for its service at Abbeokuta, Elmina, Lagos, Cape Palmas, and on the Niger. By its agency at Cape Palmas it connects Liberia with its extensive operations.

Two other large Companies—the London and West African Bank, with a capital of half a million of pounds, and the London and Liberia Banking and Commercial Institution, with a capital of more than a million of dollars, have issued their proposals, and it is thought by the establishment of branches at the various commercial settlements on the African Coast, they will afford accommodation to all respectable merchants in Liberia and on other parts of the African coast. By a return of imports from Western Africa into England, it appears that the increase in 1860 over 1859 was £250,388; and the increased exports from Great Britain to that coast in 1860 over 1859 was £255,268.

SLAVE TRADE.

How far the recent treaty between this country and Great Britain has accomplished its object, is not yet ascertained, though there is reason to hope it may prove effective. By this treaty, the reciprocal right of search and detention of all vessels suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, within two hundred miles of the African coast, and to the thirty-second parallel of south latitude, and within thirty leagues from the coast of the island of Cuba, is mutually conceded. Courts of Mixed Commission are also established at New York, Sierra Leone, and the Cape of Good Hope, to adjudicate upon all cases of alleged prosecution of this trade.

AFRICAN MISSIONS.

The cause of missions, though sometimes darkened and interrupted, and in some cases failing of predicted success, is making progress and winning signal triumphs on most parts of the African coast, and far into the interior of Africa. The recent labors of that great traveller, Dr. Livingstone, and the University Mission which he engaged so earnestly in planting near the Zambesi, have of late been attended by opposition and calamities which have

inclined the Government to abandon further exploration. The geographical discoveries made do not, it is thought, warrant a continuance of the heavy expenditures required, and the expedition is ordered home.

But benevolent Societies are still persevering in their endeavors. Dr. Krapf, so eminent for his labors within and on the borders of Abyssinia, has returned to his chosen field, having visited the various missionaries in Egypt on his way, while Swiss and German missionaries traverse wide districts of Eastern Africa. Those of England, France, and America occupy large regions of the south, while those from Scotland have proceeded interior to the unhealthy regions visited by Dr. Livingstone on his route across the continent.

AFRICAN EXPLORATION.

The last has been a year of remarkable explorations and discoveries. Captain Speke, at a banquet recently given to him and his companion, Captain Grant, in London, said: "My object is nothing less than the regeneration of Africa. I believe—and I say I *believe*, because I have only been across the tract once—that I have discovered a zone of wonderful fertility in Africa. It is in a line with the Equator from east to west, and its fertility perfectly astonished me." This region is represented by him to be between 3000 and 4000 feet in altitude, watered by rains the entire year, fertilizing the adjoining regions with a temperature as mild as that of England in summer, and the most healthy of all the countries through which he travelled. Arab merchants, and others, say that there is no place so healthy as the equatorial region. "If means," said Captain Speke, "were taken to colonize it, there would, I am sure, be ample repayment; and if missionaries should again enter Africa, I would say that to this spot they should especially devote their attention, and if ever they should do so, they will meet there with a people who are not purely heathen, but who emanated from the Abyssinian stock, and have the germ of Christianity within them. I wish particularly to draw the attention of clergymen to these people. When I spoke to them of the power of knowledge, they wished that I would educate their children. I told them that I would send missionaries to them, and as they all accepted the view which I then expressed, I

feel cer-
urged
coast.
native
cheape
The
plored,
Republ
region
the dis
sess, ci

The
our fre
of the
contro
lively
spirit o
Christi
justice
may be
world
not be

feel certain that they are now expecting them." Captain Speke urged that negro clergymen should be employed from the Western coast. In the view of this great traveller, the instruction of the native African people, and their civilization, is the speediest and cheapest way of suppressing the slave trade.

The country interior from Liberia has been but imperfectly explored, yet the extent to which some adventurous citizens of this Republic have examined it, induces the expectation that an elevated region will there be revealed, beautiful, healthy and fertile, inviting the dispersed children of Africa from this and many lands to repose, civilize, and enjoy the ancient home of their race.

CONCLUSION.

The policy of the Government of the United States towards our free people of color, and such as become free in the progress of the great contest in which we are involved, is a subject of much controversy and debate. The President and Congress entertain a lively interest in Liberia, and in the civilization of Africa. The spirit of humanity and of commerce, and the desire to promulgate Christianity, have inspired this and other enlightened nations with justice and benevolence towards the people of Africa. Other ends may be sought and gained, but the recovery of this quarter of the world from the night of ages to knowledge and religion should not be neglected or forgotten.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, FROM JAN. 1ST TO DEC. 31ST, 1863.

		Dr.	Cr.
1. To balances due the Society, 31st Dec. 1862.....	\$105,330 83		\$5,750 71
2. Less balances owed by the So- ciety, do.....	27,646 91		12,864 96
51. To am't rec'd for expenses of emigrants.....	9,015 35	\$77,683 92	5,098 83
55. " am't rec'd ship M. C. Stevens " " " from Liberia.....	10,226 94		1,508 74
59. " " " of Repository sub- scribers.....	1,020 00		23 00
99. " am't rec'd from donat'ns and collections.....	121 85		484 24
127. " am't rec'd from rents of col- onization building.....	6,665 76		100 00
134. " am't rec'd from legacies.....	3,370 74		168 53
136. " " " " " " " " " " " "	12,338 95		213 97
75. " " " " " " " " " " " "	5,728 27		5,811 68
of Congoes.....	2,412 50		3,273 64
			35,298 30
			421 65
311. Journal, old accounts closed....			99,728 40
Balances due to the Society....			34,561 11
Less balances owed by do.....			
Difference.....			65,167 29
Cash in hand of the Society.....	50,900 36		
Cash in hand for Gov. of Lib'a.....			4,482 38
			23,214 66
			27,697 04
			92,864 33
			\$128,584 28

The Committee on Accounts have performed the duty assigned to them, and have found the accounts submitted to their inspection correctly kept and properly vouched.

(Signed.)
J. S. ROPES, *Chairman.*

The
was h
Avenu
Washi
Latrol
Ow
adjour
churcl
The
Presb
evenin
ing w
Aft
Gurle
in the
The
dresse
Lewis
Phine
On
ment,
annua
The
Scott,
for th
The
tlemen

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the American Colonization Society was held January 19, 1864, at 7 o'clock P. M., in the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Rev. P. D. Gurley, D. D., pastor, Washington City. The President of the Society, Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, presided.

Owing to the inclemency of the weather, the Society, on motion, adjourned to meet to-morrow evening in the 4½ street Presbyterian church.

The Society convened, according to adjournment, in the 4½ street Presbyterian church, Rev. Dr. Sunderland, pastor, on Wednesday evening, January 20, the President in the chair. The Divine blessing was invoked by the Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

After the benediction, which was pronounced by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, the Society adjourned to meet to-morrow, at 12 o'clock M. in the rooms of the Society.

The Annual Report was presented, and earnest and eloquent Addresses were made by the Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore; Lewis H. Wheeler, Esq., of Towsontown, Maryland; and the Rev. Phineas D. Gurley, D. D., of Washington City.

On Thursday, at 12 o'clock, the Society met pursuant to adjournment, the President in the chair, when the minutes of the last annual meeting were read and approved.

The President appointed William V. Pettit, Esq., George W. Scott, Esq., and Gen. E. A. Elliot a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The committee subsequently nominated the following named gentlemen as officers, who were unanimously elected:

President :

HON. JOHN H. B. LATROBE.

Vice Presidents :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Gen. John H. Cocke, of Virginia. | 45. Benjamin Silliman, L. L. D., of Conn. |
| 2. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Connecticut. | 46. Hon. Joseph R. Ingersoll, of Penn. |
| 3. Moses Allen, Esq., of New York. | 47. Hon. Edward Coles, of Penn. |
| 4. Rev. Jas. O. Andrew, D. D., of Alabama. | 48. Rev. Howard Malcom, D. D., of Penn. |
| 5. Hon. Walter Lowrie, of New York. | 49. Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D., of N. Y. |
| 6. Stephen Duncan, M. D., of Mississippi. | 50. Edward McGehee, Esq., of Mississippi. |
| 7. Hon. Wm. C. Rives, of Virginia. | 51. Daniel Turnbull, Esq., of Louisiana. |
| 8. James Boorman, Esq., of New York. | 52. Hon. Thomas H. Seymour, of Conn. |
| 9. Henry Foster, Esq., of New York. | 53. Rev. O. C. Baker, D. D., of N. Hampshire. |
| 10. Robert Campbell, Esq., of Georgia. | 54. Rev. E. S. James, D. D., of N. Y. |
| 11. Hon. Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey. | 55. Rev. Matthew Simpson, D. D., of Penn. |
| 12. Hon. James Garland, of Virginia. | 56. Rev. Levi Scott, D. D., of Delaware. |
| 13. Hon. Willard Hall, of Delaware. | 57. Rev. R. R. Gurley, of D. C. |
| 14. Gerard Ralston, Esq., of England. | 58. E. R. Alberti, Esq., of Florida. |
| 15. Thomas Hodgkin, M. D., of England. | 59. Hon. J. J. Ormond, of Alabama. |
| 16. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Massachusetts. | 60. Hon. Daniel Chandler, of Alabama. |
| 17. Thomas F. Hazard, Esq., of Rhode Island. | 61. Rev. Robt. Paine, D. D., of Miss. |
| 18. Thomas Massie, M. D., of Virginia. | 62. Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., of Ky. |
| 19. Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A. | 63. Solomon Sturges, Esq., of Illinois. |
| 20. Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey. | 64. Rev. T. A. Morris, D. D., of Ohio. |
| 21. James Bailey, Esq., of Mississippi. | 65. Henry Stoddard, Esq., of Ohio. |
| 22. Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D., of S. Carolina. | 66. Rev. E. R. Ames, D. D., of Indiana. |
| 23. Rt. Rev. C. P. McIlvaine, D. D., of Ohio. | 67. Rev. James C. Finley, of Illinois. |
| 24. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky. | 68. Hon. Edward Bates, of Missouri. |
| 25. James Lenox, Esq., of New York. | 69. Hon. John F. Darby, of Missouri. |
| 26. Rev. Joshua Soule, D. D., of Tenn. | 70. Rev. N. L. Rice, D. D., of New York. |
| 27. Rev. T. C. Upham, D. D., of Maine. | 71. Hon. J. B. Crockett, of California. |
| 28. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio. | 72. Hon. H. Dutton, of Connecticut. |
| 29. Hon. Thomas W. Williams, of Conn. | 73. David Hunt, Esq., of Mississippi. |
| 30. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Virginia. | 74. Hon. George F. Patten, of Maine. |
| 31. Rev. Lovick Pierce, D. D., of Georgia. | 75. Richard Hoff, Esq., of Georgia. |
| 32. Hon. R. J. Walker, of New Jersey. | 76. Henry M. Schieffelin, Esq., of N. Y. |
| 33. John Bell, M. D., of Pennsylvania. | 77. W. W. Seaton, Esq., of D. C. |
| 34. Rev. Robert Ryland, of Virginia. | 78. Rev. John Maclean, D. D., of N. J. |
| 35. Hon. Frederick P. Stanton, of Kansas. | 79. Richard T. Haines, Esq., of New Jersey. |
| 36. Hon. James M. Wayne, of Georgia. | 80. Freeman Clark, Esq., of Maine. |
| 37. Hon. Robert F. Stockton, of New Jersey. | 81. William H. Brown, Esq., of Illinois. |
| 38. Hon. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts. | 82. Hon. Ichabod Goodwin, of N. H. |
| 39. Hon. Washington Hunt, of New York. | 83. Hon. John Bell, of Tennessee. |
| 40. Hon. Horatio Seymour, of New York. | 84. William E. Dodge, Esq., of New York. |
| 41. Hon. Joseph A. Wright, of Indiana. | 85. Hon. L. H. Delano, of Vermont. |
| 42. Hon. Jos. C. Hornblower, of New Jersey. | 86. Robert H. Ives, Esq., of Rhode Island. |
| 43. Hon. George F. Fort, of New Jersey. | 87. Rev. Thomas De Witt, D. D., of New York. |
| 44. Hon. Ralph I. Ingersoll, of Conn. | |

On motion of Hon. P. Parker, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the American Colonization Society are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, Lewis H. Wheeler, Esq., and the Rev. P. D. Gurley, D. D., for

their very able and timely addresses before the Society last evening, and that those gentlemen be requested to furnish a copy of their respective addresses for publication under the direction of this Society.

The Society then adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday in January, 1865, at 7½ o'clock, p. m., at such place as the Executive Committee shall select.

— o o o —

ADDRESS OF JOHN H. B. LATROBE, Esq.

Members of the American Colonization Society,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I have been unexpectedly requested by the Executive Committee to occupy the time, this evening, which had been allotted to one or more speakers, who have failed to attend. I cannot do so more profitably than by saying a few words touching the condition and prospects of the Colonization cause.

The question is constantly asked, "What are you doing—how many emigrants are you sending to Africa?" And the invariable reply is, "We are doing little or nothing—we are sending few if any emigrants; and yet, never has the success of our scheme appeared more certain than at the present time."

The paucity of emigrants and the smallness of our collections are susceptible of easy explanation; so, too, are the grounds of our unhesitating confidence in the future.

We are engaged in a contest unparalleled in the history of the world; and the prominence which it has given to the subject of slavery, and the general belief that it will end in the freedom, sooner or later, of all who are now held in bondage, has led many to suppose that the condition of the negro will be so much modified, when peace shall be established, that the separation of the two races, towards which Colonization tends, will be no longer necessary; and that whites and negroes will come to be regarded as equals, socially; or that, at any rate, there will be a fair division between them of the rewards of industry, if not of place and power.

That the negro should be credulous at the suggestion of so pleasant an illusion, is not unnatural; and although his past experience ought to create doubts as to the probability of such a result, yet, we would be more surprised if he did not wait to see the issue of the war, before he made up his mind about Colonization, than we are at his doing so.

The hesitation of the free negro to emigrate at this time, abandoning the vague and dreamy hope of some great, but undefined, good that is to befall him when the war is ended, is thus readily

accounted for; and until his eyes shall be opened to the truth, we can expect but very few emigrants from this quarter.

While the war, in this way, affects indirectly the supply of emigrants, it has entirely cut us off from our usual supply of slaves, emancipated by southern masters, for emigration to Liberia. And here, again, Colonization suffers for the present.

But the dreams we have above referred to are not confined to the negro. The whites indulge in them. They lose sight of the mighty and paramount question of our Union, and, because the collateral one of the negro has been made prominent, they seem to imagine that the war will end by overcoming all the prejudices of the whites, annulling the law of races, and fitting the new-made free men for that social equality, which those of their race, born free, educated and refined, have never yet been able to attain. They make no attempt to vindicate these views by argument. They have a faith, but no reason for it: and while they wait, in the hope that all they wish for may 'turn up', they suspend their judgment in regard to Colonization. They suspend their contributions too. And, here again, Colonization suffers.

Verily, if either whites or negroes are right in these anticipations, Colonization is, indeed, *functus officio*; and the most that we can hope to do, is to maintain a respectable position among the missionary associations, differing from them in this only, that we have a peculiar field of operations, cultivated by us in a peculiar manner.

But, are they right? We think not. And in demonstrating their error, we will vindicate our belief that the success of our scheme was never more assured than now. We have often said that African Colonization was destiny. This war will force all men to admit it.

Let us assume, that, sooner or later, immediately, or after some comparatively brief interval, every slave in America finds himself a freed man when peace shall be restored; not freed by Proclamation merely, but actually, practically free—free to work at pleasure, and for whom he pleases. It requires no stretch of the imagination to do this; we have only to fancy ourselves in the State of Pennsylvania, where there are many free negroes, and no slaves.

What, then, will be the condition of the country? We have, now, according to the last census, 482,005 free negroes. We will then have 4,441,765.*

Our population, now, is divided into three classes, whites, free negroes, and slaves. Then, there will be but two classes, whites and negroes, both free.

A mighty change will have been accomplished; and the question

* The figures of the last census are used in these remarks, although the lapse of time is daily changing them. Still, they answer the end of the argument.

is, how will it affect the social condition of the negro race amongst us. Will it reconcile the whites to receive negroes into their families—into their counting houses—to work with them in the same factories—to share with them the same out door-labor—to live with them under even the humblest roofs? Will it do anything, in a word, to obviate the strife and heartburnings, that have of late years prevailed wherever the races have been brought in contact, and which have been regarded as making their separation, by means of Colonization, a necessity?

The subject is too grave to be dealt with by dogmatic assertions. The happiness and destiny of a people are not to be perilled through pride of opinion. We have no justification in continuing our scheme, and urging it upon whites and negroes, merely because we believe that we are right. Proof is necessary to justify us; and there is, happily, any amount of it at hand.

In Massachusetts, the free negro population is a little more than three-quarters of one per cent. of the aggregate. With a population of 1,221,464 whites, she has but 9,602 negroes. And no where have the wrongs of the negro been more emphatically discussed than in this State. The press, the pulpit, and the platform, have all been eloquent in this behalf. And, yet, after the war began, and when all the contingencies of the future had become prominent, Massachusetts, officially, eschewed the increase of the negro element within her borders. It was thus shown, that words were not to be relied on; that it was one thing to talk of negro wrongs, and quite another thing to take negroes by the hand, and hail them as friends and neighbours. And can it for a moment be imagined, that the feeling in Massachusetts, due to less than one per cent. of free negro population, would be modified in favor of the latter, by increasing the ratio to ten per cent? It is only necessary to ask the question, to see how ineffably absurd would be the idea of any such result. Where there is one hate—or to use a milder word—prejudice, in the one case, there would be ten times as many in the other.

Now, we do not find fault with Massachusetts, when we thus put her forward as our illustration of what must take place throughout the land, when the number of free negroes shall be ten times greater than it is at present? Wise and prudent, keen of observation, learning fast from experience, her own or other people's, with schools everywhere, with thrift everywhere, with hospitals and colleges and libraries, and with soldiers, too, that do her honor, Massachusetts has but manifested a matured judgment, formed with all the means of making it a correct one, of the inexpediency, looking to the happiness and prosperity of her people, of lessening the present great disparity of numbers between the whites and the negroes within her borders. Massachusetts may love the negro race, as she does, if we believe her orators and poets; but it is at a distance that her affection is the strongest.

So far from holding that Massachusetts is to blame in this respect, we would have her example imitated throughout the land, so far as might be consistent with humanity and the duties that we owe to the negro race; and it is because we firmly believe that it will be imitated, that we are colonizationists. When all the States shall feel as Massachusetts feels, a home for the free negro beyond the sea will be all that can save the race from extirpation; and that home we have prepared in Liberia.

But, while Massachusetts merely protests against the increase of her free negro population from abroad, Indiana, another free State, proud, wise, intelligent and wealthy, brave, too, as the bravest, has gone a step further, and actually taken measures to expel the free negro from her confines.

What will the increase of the free negroes, at the end of the war, or in a comparatively short time afterwards, when all negroes shall be free, do to modify the feeling or the action of Indiana in this regard? Will it cause the repeal of the unkind legislation on her statute book? Will slaves, just freed across the Ohio, in Kentucky, be more welcome in 1866 than they were in 1856? How idle to imagine anything of the kind! On the contrary, unless the war should change humanity, the tendency of circumstances will be to make the legislation of Indiana more severe, rather than more liberal.

We might go on, and refer to New York, where, without law, whites are permitted to exclude negroes from certain employments—to Pennsylvania, where, in Philadelphia, negroes at one time were assailed by mobs—to Ohio, where, in Cincinnati, cannon have been brought into the streets to quell a negro riot. But why multiply illustrations? Surely enough has been said to show that the mere increase of the numbers of the free negroes, after the war, will not operate to remove or lessen the obstacles which now effectually exclude them from social equality with the whites, and threaten to leave them no alternative to extirpation but emigration.

When the negro race shall be a free race here, wherein will they differ from the Indian race; and why should the destiny of the one be different from that of the other? Will it be because negroes are tillers of the soil, and more docile and more amenable to restraint than the Indians? Why, this very mildness of character will operate against them, when the whites, armed with political power, increase in numbers to such a degree as to produce a strife with negroes for the means of livelihood. Will it be because they are mixed up with us in the same communities, while the Indians have been pushed beyond our borders, and maintained as a separate organization remote from us? Why, this very commingling is another element of weakness, should the anticipated struggle ever arise. Is it because there are more educated men among them than are to be found among the Indians, with more refinement, more civilization, more religion? While the fact here is

doubted—for John Ross and the Folsoms, and others, yield to few of any race in information and intelligence—yet, even were it conceded, of what avail will all their qualities be when the question of bread presents itself, as in time it must, to the masses of the population, with whom the negroes will then be intermixed?

On more than one occasion, the speaker has asked, what would have been the fate of the negro, had Ireland, during the famine of 1847, been inhabited by a mixed population of whites and blacks, in the proportions in which they exist in the United States, and entertaining the feelings towards each other there that prevail here? Who can doubt which would have starved? This is a question which will bear repetition. It suggests an illustration that cannot be overlooked by those who, regardless of specious declamation, when the interests of humanity are at stake, are not afraid to face the facts in coming to their conclusions.

But, as the effect of the war, in freeing the slaves, is to operate in the States where slavery exists, it would not do, in the examination we are giving to the subject, to omit these in our discourse. To one of them, Maryland, the speaker has the honor to belong. There are, in Maryland, 83,942 free negroes—more than in any other State of the Union—more than in the two great free States of New York and Ohio, put together. Nearly one-fifth of the free negroes of the United States are to be found in this State. In Maryland they have increased to more than twelve per cent. of the entire population, by emancipation, immigration, and births. And in Maryland, with the experience afforded by this large percentage, more has been done for colonization than in all the other States combined. And yet, in Maryland, notwithstanding the kindness which has attracted them from other States, until their numbers have reached the ratio above mentioned, they have been gradually and finally excluded from the ship-yards, from the coal-yards, and from many an old and accustomed calling.

In Maryland the free negro population is already so large, that doubling it by freeing the slaves will not produce so striking a change as where—further South, for instance—the proportion of free negroes is now comparatively small. For years past, free negroes have formed an important portion of the agricultural labor of many counties; and the experiment of working the plantations by hirelings, instead of slaves, has been more than tried. It has become, in fact, a part of the agricultural system of the State. And, without going into the rationale of the fact, at this time, it may be remarked that it has been found necessary, apparently, to make the violation of a free negro contract for hire, on the part of the laborer, a penal offence, instead of leaving it to be punished by a civil action at the suit of the aggrieved party.

That Maryland will, before long, rank as a free State, cannot now be questioned; but there is nothing in her history or experience to make us hope that the increase of free negroes will operate

to produce kindlier feelings towards the race than have heretofore existed, and which have not sufficed to make Maryland an exception to the operation of the law of races, that renders the existence of two peoples, which cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, in the same land, on a footing of social equality, impossible. Amalgamation, extirpation, or emigration, would seem to be the only alternatives.

Going further South with our examination, it is impossible to imagine that emancipation of the slaves will improve the feelings towards them of their late masters. Compulsory, as the emancipation will be, in the vast majority of cases, the angry feelings which the measure will produce, will, certainly, not promote relations there between the races, looking in the direction of social equality.—Wherever else this condition might obtain, we know enough of the character and temper of the South to satisfy us that *there*, under any circumstances, it must be hopeless. Generations upon generations would have to elapse, before the ignorant, uneducated slaves of Carolina and Georgia would attain the condition of the free negroes of the North; and, during all this time, the pride, the very nature of the whites, would be in constant revolt against the very idea of social equality.

We have thus gone over the ground for the purpose of showing, that the idea that the increase of the free negro population of the country, assuming that slavery, sooner or later, is to pass away as the result of the war, will benefit the race, elevate the negro to the white man's level, or operate, in any one particular, in his favor, is an illusion—a vain and idle dream.

We will now proceed to show, that instead of enhancing the negro's prospects of social advancement, the war in which we are engaged will impair them; and, in so doing, make colonization, more than ever, a necessity.

And this requires a word or two touching the theory upon which colonization rests. It may be stated, epigrammatically almost, when we say, that colonization rests upon the fact that WHILE THE POPULATION INCREASES, THE LAND DOES NOT.

We learn little new now-a-days. We are living over and over the experience of the past. African colonization is the same as American colonization. The attractions of the new home, the repulsions of the old one, or both combined, have produced all the colonizations that have taken place since the days of Noah.—Where population has been in excess, where religious persecution has prevailed, where distinct races have found it impossible to amalgamate, colonization has depended on repulsion; where gold has tempted, where a spirit of adventure has needed a wider field, attraction has fostered colonization.

To produce the great results of African colonization, the repelling-agencies, operating in harmony, will be a redundant population, and the distinction between the white and negro races.

The speaker has been told by high authority, that, excluding the vast areas on the maps where arid plains alternate with mountains unfit for cultivation, but little land remains, speaking comparatively, that has not been taken up; AND THE LAND DOES NOT INCREASE.

But the population, which was 3,929,827 in 1790, and was 31,445,089 in 1860, will be 100,000,000, in round numbers, at the close of the century, and upwards of 200,000,000, much upwards, in 1930, only three score years and ten, a single lifetime, from to-day. *

Of this teeming, stirring, jostling mass, the negroes, all made free by the war, will form but an inconsiderable part, even though they number millions. Deprived of the protection which they enjoyed as slaves, thrown upon their own resources, the vast majority of them hirelings, and nothing but hirelings, they will be subjected to a competition which the increase of the aggregate of population will render inevitable. The competition that has heretofore been felt by the free negroes in the great cities, only, with the effects we have referred to, will then be felt every where, with none of those alleviations arising from the kindly feelings which, in the slave States, have ever existed towards the race, feelings which, in the slave State of Maryland, go far to account for the accumulation of its immense free negro population.

We are not speaking of to-day or to-morrow, but of a distant period, which is as sure to arrive, however, as is the rising of the sun.

For years, the demand for labor will preserve the freed negro from the consequences here indicated. He did not anticipate, during the revolutionary war, what he has experienced in New York and Indiana within the last twenty years: but in less time than has elapsed since the revolution, will he suffer, if he remains here, not in the cities only, but everywhere, what we foretell.

Without the war, this antagonism of races in the South would have been long postponed. Even then it would have come at last with the increase of population. With peace, and without slavery, it will be at once inaugurated.

One thing seems to be conceded in this connection, that white labor will find its way to the South more rapidly than it has yet done. It will be attracted by the demand for it. The Southern climate, the productiveness of the soil, the value of its great staples, and the fact that there being no longer any slaves, free white labor cannot be invidiously compared with, or likened to, slave labor, will all have their effect in producing this result. So long as the owner of land was a slave-owner also, it was his interest to work his land with his slaves. Ceasing to own slaves, and having offered to him a choice between free white

* These calculations, long since made and appreciated by colonizationists, have been communicated to Congress by President Lincoln in one of his Messages.

labor and negro labor, he will be governed by his interest in choosing between them. The whites will thus be brought into competition with the negroes; and there will soon prevail the same antagonism at the South that exists elsewhere; an antagonism embittered and made intense by the peculiar circumstances that have produced it.

If there be any who assert that this can never be, because the necessity for negro labor, to produce the great Southern staples, will make the negro a necessity there, and secure for him better treatment as a hireling than he has received as a slave, it may be replied, that this is by no means certain. The assertion has been repeated a million times that cotton could only be produced by associated negro labor; and this, too, by those, who, being planters, might be supposed to know. But not one of them ever tried the experiment under circumstances that made the result reliable. The white laborer has always heretofore had a choice of toil, and has chosen that which was most agreeable to him, and has kept away from fields in which slaves were fellow-workers. But this cannot be so always; and it is the speaker's firm belief, founded on many years of careful observation, that when the necessity for it arises, cotton, not here and there, but universally, will be grown by white men. That the war will hasten the coming of this time, to the destruction of the *prestige* of negro labor in this direction, admits of little question.

In the many addresses which the speaker has been called upon to deliver in the last thirty years, he has always anticipated the time when, through the operation of natural causes, at the instance of the owners of slaves, prompted by their own interest, slavery would cease, and America would be inhabited by an homogenous population of white men; and he clung to this theory the more, perhaps, because it was a pleasant one, involving no painful disruption of old ties of affection, which were independent of color or race, causing neither loss nor suffering, leaving the old, when their days of labor were over, to die in their beds, in comfort, and opening to the young and adventurous a field of honorable ambition in the land from whence their fathers came. It was a theory that looked to the oozing, as it were, from amongst us, slowly, but certainly, in the course of generations, of the whole negro race.

But the war, from present appearances, at least, ends the theory referred to, in many of its aspects, and certainly not to the comfort of the negro.

We cannot close our remarks without a word in reply to those who insist that the sad losses of the present contest, in human life, will of themselves give to negro labor a value that will operate to elevate the race, and bring them nearer to social equality, if it does not establish them upon that footing; and that this effect will be enhanced by the fact that the negro is now made a soldier, and is uniting with the whites in sustaining the Union so prized and so cherished.

This is but a narrow view of the matter. There is, already, a foreign immigration, the *avant courier* of a still greater, which is filling our numbers, not of the army, but of the people, as fast as war is depleting them. The ordinary immigration of past years, which has been felt in maintaining that uniform ratio of increase which enables us to fix the population of the country, at any given period in the future, has been increased by the war, and the demand for labor, and the high price of wages due to it. That the census of 1870 will show the same ratio for the preceding decade that has been shown by the census of 1860, for that then closed, can scarcely be questioned.

And this immigration! Ask the free negro what he thinks of it. Who hung him to the lamp-posts in New York, and kindled fires under his body as he swung there, before suffocation came to rescue him from torture? Who have ever been the bitterest enemies of the negro? Who but the foreign emigrant. It is not from this quarter that he can hope for assistance in realizing his vain and idle dream of social equality—nor even the more reasonable, but still impracticable expectation of an equal division of industrial occupations.

But then he has been a soldier! Well; will he be treated better, on that account, than the learned and refined men, negroes, who for the last thirty years have illustrated the capacity of the race to take an honorable rank in Science, Literature and Art, to conduct the affairs of government in Liberia with ability and reputation. Will the soldier who has survived the war, and attained some smaller rank, perhaps, be better received in society, or be recognized as having done more to elevate his race, than Crummell, and Blyden, and Roberts, and Russwurm, and Benson, and McGill. There is no reason why he should be. There are many reasons why he should not; reasons unnecessary to enumerate, as they suggest themselves naturally. "They employ us as porters, but do not employ us as clerks," said a most intelligent and accomplished negro in New York, when speaking, not many years ago, of some loud-voiced friends. It can hardly be hoped that the war will open the doors of the counting houses to the race, after they have so long been closed against commercial intelligence and clerical capacity, because their possessors were negroes.

No! the war will not change, for the better, one feeling, or modify one principle, for the negro's advancement in the social scale. On the contrary, he will find when it is over, that where he had before one motive for emigration, he will then have two.

War! why, it softens none of us. Its tendency is the reverse. Even now, we are as the spectators at Spanish bull fights, whose satisfaction is in proportion to the slaughter that distinguishes the spectacle. Years since, a steamboat explosion on the western waters, accompanied with the loss of some score of lives, caused a thrill that pervaded the country, and draped the newspapers that

first announced it in mourning. Now, we consult the list of killed and wounded to determine the importance of a victory, and are disappointed at successes whose misfortune it is to be bloodless! We do not acknowledge this; we hope it is not so. But the fact is not changed by our silence or our hopes. And the negro, in spite of all that may be said to the contrary, will find himself less thought of, and of less consideration, with his whole race free, than when a part of it was in bondage.

He doubts us, we well know, when we speak in this way—we who have, as colonizationists, recognized his ability, made him the governor of our colonies, the professor in our colleges, and entrusted him with thousands and tens of thousands of dollars, when our only security was in his honesty and truth; we, who, while we rejoice in his freedom, are still the friends who proclaim to him his fate if he remains here.

And whence does he derive the hopes that retain him in America? From the press, the pulpit, and the platform. But what do they know of his troubles and difficulties? Neither the orators nor writers, nor their hearers or readers, ever meet with the negro in the walks where he is striving for bread. What effect has the most eloquent oration ever delivered in his behalf upon the hungry whites, who, with every one a vote, insist that negro waiters shall no longer be employed in a fashionable hotel. What effect has the most vigorous article ever penned upon the gang of laborers who, rioting along the wharves, drive off the negro stevedores? Was the negro to be seen working with whites in manufactories at alternate benches, associating with the laboring class of white men in the streets, there would be far more reason to hope for his social advancement than can fairly be derived from all that the press, the platform, or the pulpit has ever said in reference to negro wrongs. They have caused negroes to be seen at anniversary meetings, scattered here and there through the audience—the *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, of the poet—but as to any permanent effect produced by them upon those on whom the negro's comfort depends, it has been less than nothing—it has been worse than nothing; for the white man, the poor man, has felt himself neglected for the negro, and has hated the latter for the prominence that has been given to him.

As Colonizationists, we deal with the negro question as it is presented to us. We have prepared a home to which the negro can escape when he becomes satisfied that the evil day is at hand. We compel none to go to Liberia. Not every one is fit to go, or ought to be received there. That it is a land flowing with milk and honey—that the emigrant will not have to encounter difficulties and submit to privations there—we have never pretended to assert. But we have always said, what we now repeat, that it is a land where labor will meet a fair reward in the cultivation of a fertile soil, where there is a wide field for commercial enterprise,

where negroes have established, and now maintain with honor, a government, republican in form, and recognized by the leading nations of the world; and where it is our assured belief that an emigration, voluntary and self-paying—just such an emigration as brings the European to our shores—will, in the inevitable course of human events, build up a great nation, vindicating, in its own prosperity, and in the Christianizing of Africa, the ways of God towards man.

Such have been the views of Colonizationists heretofore. Confessedly incompetent, with any means at their command, to transport the free people of color, or any considerable portion of them, to Africa, even before the war, infinitely absurd would be the idea that, when all shall be free, of the negro race, they would be able to do so. But, blessed by Him who liveth and reigneth, their feeble strength and limited means have founded Liberia, and have made it, and will be able to continue to make it, sufficiently attractive, to cause, when combined with the pressure of increasing population here, the exodus, in time, of the whole negro race from amongst us.

We are weak, very weak; we, the friends of Colonization! But mighty agencies (this very war not the least of them) are at work to vindicate the wisdom of the founders of our Society. Time and circumstances are our great auxiliaries; and upon these we depend. Nor do we doubt that the day will come, when, on the coast of Africa, the thanks of grateful millions will be rendered to even the humblest of those who have wrought in the great cause of African Colonization.

Address of Rev. P. D. GURLEY, D. D.

MR. PRESIDENT: When an honorable member of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society called upon me a few days ago to ask the use of the New York Avenue Church for your anniversary exercises, he, at the same time, requested that on this occasion I should say a few words in favor of the cause. I promised to do so; not to make a speech, but briefly to add my testimony to that of other speakers on behalf of African Colonization. I stand here to redeem that promise; and for the sake of brevity and precision, I have reduced what I wish to say to writing:

Though the Colonization Society is merely a voluntary association, and though it has had to labor with many difficulties growing out of misapprehension and prejudice, still it can boast of achievements which are enough to silence its enemies and fill the hearts of its friends and supporters with gratitude and joy. What has it done?

1. In the first place, it has opened an asylum for the free people of color, to which they may go and enjoy all the rights and immu-

nities of freemen indeed. There stands Liberia—the fruit of Colonization—on the Western coast of Africa, the only bright spot of any considerable magnitude, save one, on the whole of that dark, dark continent. There is a republican government modeled after our own. There are schools, and churches, and temperance societies, and newspapers, and agriculture, and the mechanical arts, and a legitimate commerce. There are legislative assemblies, and wholesome laws, and courts and officers of justice, and all the elements of an advanced civilization—all the agencies that usually accompany and promote true national growth and prosperity. There are several thousand persons, the most of whom were once in bondage, removed from this country, and organized into thriving communities. They are, for the most part, moral and religious. Perhaps a greater proportion of them are members of some Christian church than in any other community of equal dimensions in the world. So much has been done; and if this were all, it would be enough to vindicate the cause of African Colonization, and commend it to the hearty approbation of all benevolent men. Yes, while the enemies of this scheme have been caviling, and gravely doubting the possibility of establishing *one* colony, behold a *constellation* of colonies has arisen, star by star, and shed its light along the dreary coast, reminding us of the words of the prophet, and renewing their fulfilment—“The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up.” There, I repeat it, has been opened a blessed asylum for the free colored people of this country. *Here* they lie under political and social disadvantages; *there* they are organized into an independent empire of their own. They are stimulated to improvement by everything around them; they are inspired by all laudable motives of ambition, and effectually aroused to that energy, determination and hope which are indispensable to their advancement, and which we are persuaded they will never put forth while they remain in this country. The fact that we can now take our colored brethren by the hand, and encourage their hearts and hopes with the assurance that there is one spot in the world where they can become a great, and powerful, and independent nation, all this we owe to Colonization.

2. Secondly: Colonization has done more for the suppression of the slave trade than all the united navies of the world. The history of all the efforts which have been made by armed forces to arrest the progress of this inhuman traffic, is full of defeat and discouragement. It is now, we think, generally admitted that the slave trade can never be arrested and abolished by the efforts of men-of-war, however earnest, and strong, and vigilant they may be; and that the only hope of effectually doing this great work is by planting colonies along the coast, operating upon the minds of the natives themselves, inducing them to abandon their trade in men, with the view of engaging in lawful commerce, and thus effectually cutting off the *supply* of slaves. Now, this is just what our colonies in Liberia have

done all along the coast, wherever their influence extends. Yes, it is a fact that Liberia has suppressed the slave trade for hundreds of miles (700) along the seaboard; and whereas that whole region was little less than a storehouse and an outlet for slaves, before it was occupied by Christian colonies, it may be fairly estimated that, through their instrumentality, at least twenty thousand Africans are kept back from slavery every year. This is no small achievement, and, it seems to me, it should endear the cause of African Colonization to every philanthropic heart.

3. Again: As a means of carrying the blessings of Christianity to the 150,000,000 of heathen on the continent of Africa, Colonization seems to be our best and only hope. What has ever been done for Africa apart from Colonization? Very little indeed. The missionaries have either died in a short time, or been driven from the country by the severity of the climate, or else they have fallen an early sacrifice to the barbarity of its inhabitants. The climate is fatal to the white man. He cannot endure it. And if the enterprise of kindling the lights of civilization and Christianity in every part of that dark continent is to depend upon him, *it must fail*. If Africa is ever to be redeemed, it must be through the instrumentality of colored men. This seems to be a settled question. But how are even colored men to operate in that country against the combined influence of war, plunder, cannibalism, and the slave-trade? Can they accomplish much single-handed and alone? Certainly not. If they would do good in Africa, they must go together, and in such numbers as to form an organization strong enough for the purposes of self-defence. Rely upon it, all past experience proves that *colonies of colored people* are the only means whereby the blessings of the Christian religion can be carried to the benighted millions of Africa. By a close and critical historical examination, made within the last twenty years, it has been demonstrated that Roman Catholic missions for three centuries, and Protestant missions for one century past, *disconnected with civilized colonies on the coast*, have been an utter failure. This examination has also shown that colonization has had the most marked and marvelous influence in protecting and sustaining Christian missions. Indeed, it has been their great safeguard and defence, and is now regarded by those who have carefully attended to the subject as the only medium through which they can extend their redeeming power over the continent, and usher in the day when "princes shall come out of Egypt, and Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God."

We bless God, then, for Liberia; for what it has done and promises to do for the free man of color; for what it has done and promises to do for the suppression of the slave trade; for what it has done and promises to do for Christian missions, and, through them, for the complete redemption of Africa. Its various benevolent bearings, and what it has actually accomplished for the cause of God and humanity, give it a strong and unquestionable claim upon our sym-

pathy and assistance, our confidence and prayers; and unless I greatly mistake the signs of the times, as connected with current and coming events in our own beloved and bleeding country, they point to a day near at hand when Liberia and African Colonization will assume an importance in the estimation of the American people such as they never had before; and when thousands now indifferent to their claims, or disposed to call them in question, will confess their mistake, and admire, as we do, the wisdom that devised so blessed a scheme for the deliverance of a suffering people and a suffering continent from the pressure of darkness and sorrow.

I will only add in conclusion, that, in my humble judgment, the success that has attended the Colonization enterprise, considering the feebleness of its means, and the scantiness of its resources, is one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the world. The smile of heaven evidently has rested upon it from the beginning, and rests upon it still. I have no doubt of its complete success. I believe the colonies planted on the Western coast of Africa are but the opening of a house of refuge to which thousands and tens of thousands of the colored people of this land and of other lands will yet be seen fleeing every year with gratitude and gladness, hailing it as their surest retreat and their most inviting home. I believe that the little State of Liberia is but the germ of a great and glorious Republic, which will carry light and liberty, and blessing to benighted and down-trodden millions over whom it will extend its peaceful sway. Nay more: I believe African Colonization is to be very conspicuous among the distinguishing events of the nineteenth century, and that when the future historian shall write the history of the age in which we live, among the brightest pages in all the record will be that which chronicles the achievements of that blessed, blessed enterprise we are this evening endeavoring to promote.

I will only add, Mr. President, that when the slavery question shall have been solved, and solved, it may be, in blood, *the negro question will remain*: and when an anxious and an agitated people shall seek the solution of *that* question, they will find it—where? *In the blessed work of this Society.* The free and prosperous Republic of Liberia will then be hailed with gratitude and gladness as the true solution of the difficult and perilous problem, and thenceforth the memory of the men who founded that Republic and of the friends who fostered it in its days of darkness and trial, will be precious, very precious. The friends of God and humanity everywhere will give thanks for their work of faith and labor of love, and coming generations of every clime and color will arise and call them blessed.

EMIGRANTS BY THE THOMAS POPE.

Eighteen emigrants embarked on Saturday, January 16th, on the trader, Thomas Pope, from New York, for Monrovia, at the expense of this Society. Two of these are clergymen, who are qualified by education and experience to pursue their holy calling in Liberia.

List of Emigrants by the Thomas Pope.

No.	Name.	Age.	Where From.	Where to be Landed.
1	Rev. B. Watson.....	35	.....Boston.....	....Monrovia....
2	Mrs. B. Watson.....	30	.....do.....	.....do.....
3	James G. Ferris.....	30	New York.	.....do.....
4	Lavinia R. Ferris.....	25	.....do.....	.....do.....
5	Emily Jane Ferris.....	17	.....do.....	.....do.....
6	Ida Mary Ferris.....	9	.....do.....	.....do.....
7	James Henry Ferris.....	4	.....do.....	.....do.....
8	Rosanna S. Ferris.....	2 m.	.....do.....	.....do.....
9	Alfred Gorham.....	30	.....do.....	.....do.....
10	Rev. S. Wilkinson.....	28	...Alton, Illinois...	.....do.....
11	Mrs. L. Wilkinson.....	28	.....do.....	.....do.....
12	Mary Louisa Hunter.....	10	.....do.....	.....do.....
13	Hannah R. Hunter.....	7	.....do.....	.....do.....
14	Jacob Miller.....	37	... Philadelphia...	.....do.....
15	Mrs. Elizabeth Miller.....	34	.....do.....	.....do.....
16	Samuel Miller.....	14	.....do.....	.....do.....
17	Nathan Miller.....	9	.....do.....	.....do.....
18	Fanny Miller.....	7	.....do.....	.....do.....

NOTE.—The sixteen emigrants by the above named vessel, added to the 11,678 previously sent to Liberia by the American Colonization Society, makes a total of 11,696.

—200—

PROVIDENCE WORKING TO SPREAD THE GOSPEL.—In a late communication Dr. Krapf, the celebrated African explorer, writes: "I have received the astounding news that in the vicinity of Matamuca, on the north-western coast of Abyssinia, where the missionaries of the Pilgrim Missionary Society have taken up a station, natives have been discovered who came from Koordofan, Darfur, Beghermy, Wadai, Bornou, Hausa, and other nations bordering on the coast of Sierra Leone. They came in numbers of eleven thousand annually, and went as Mahomedan pilgrims to Mecca; but half of them remained and settled down on the banks of the fine river Atbarra, which runs into the Nile; and now, by their instrumentality, the missionaries have an opportunity of conveying Bibles and catechists to the very centre of Western Africa. Who would have thought of this wonderful opening previously? God's dealings are for a time very mysterious, but they turn out most blissful and clear. He overrules the pilgrimage made to honor a false prophet in Arabia for the spread of the everlasting gospel."

PERSONAL.

During the recent session of the Board of Directors, the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, whose name has so long been familiar to the friends of African Colonization, was relieved from the cares and duties of the office of Corresponding Secretary of the American Colonization Society, and was assigned an honorary relation in connection with the Society.

Mr. Gurley has identified himself with the interests of this Institution to an extent which entitles him to the regard and gratitude of the people of this country and of Africa. The best wishes and prayers of all those with whom he has been associated will go with him for his future happiness, and that he may be blessed abundantly, in his declining years, with the comfort of those precious truths which he has so successfully dispensed to others.

Mr. Gurley's place was supplied by the unanimous election of Mr. William Coppinger, of Philadelphia, for the last twenty-six years connected with the Pennsylvania Colonization Society.

—ooo—

Liberia and Hayti.

A treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, was signed at London, on the 14th January, between Mr. Gerard Ralston, the Consul-General of Liberia, and Mr. Dubois, the Minister of Hayti, the respective plenipotentiaries of the two contracting Republics. This compact contains the subjoined special and stringent article: "The slave trade is assimilated to piracy; it is rigorously prohibited, and the vessels of the two States which may be engaged in this infamous traffic shall be judged and punished according to the laws in force in their respective countries against piracy."

There is great propriety in the negro nations, Liberia and Hayti, assimilating the slave trade to piracy, and punishing it accordingly. The people of color must have a detestation of this barbarous commerce, if there be any genuine haters of it.

This is the thirteenth treaty made by Liberia with European and American nations.

—ooo—

COMMERCE OF LAGOS.—We have had occasion more than once to allude to the West Africa Company. We now have much pleasure in stating that the Directors seem determined to embark in the Lagos trade with becoming

spirit, their agent here having received advices that three vessels have been despatched to him with full cargoes, and may be daily expected; two other ships, one from London, and the other from Liverpool, will also bring him considerable consignments, and an addition to his staff of clerks, which will enable him to establish two other stations, in addition to those of Lagos, Abbeokuta and Porto Novo.

The Directors have also purchased from Messrs. Horsfall, of Liverpool, the steamer *King Eyo Honesty*, built as a yacht for the late King of Old Calabar. This steamer is intended for the Niger. A master, mate, and crew arrived for her by the *Armenian*, and we may expect her to arrive here shortly from Bonny.

A steamer suitable for towing over the bar, and for working the Lagoon, will, we understand, be sent to Lagos at an early period.—*The Anglo-African, of Lagos, West Africa.*

THE IVORY TRADE—Few persons are aware of the immense demand for ivory in our days. At the close of the last century England did not work more than 192,600lb. of ivory per annum; in 1827 the demand had risen to 364,784lb., which supposes the death of 3,040 male elephants per annum, yielding 6080 tusks, averaging 60lb. each. At present England consumes 1,000,000lb. per annum, or upwards of three times the consumption of 1827; and therefore the number of Elephants killed for England alone must be 8,333, or thereabouts. A tusk weighing 70lb. is considered by the trade a first-class one. Cuvier made a list of the largest tusks found up to his time, and the most considerable one registered by him weighed 350lb. At a late sale of tusks in London, the largest, brought from Bombay and Zanguebar, weighed from 120 to 122lb. Those from Angola averaged 60lb.; those from the Cape and Natal, 106lb.; from Lagos and Egypt, 114lb.; and from Gaboon, 91lb. But these are by no means the largest sizes to be found at present; for elephant hunters now penetrate further inward into Africa, and therefore meet with older animals. A short time ago an American house cut up a tusk which was not less than 9ft. in length and 8in. in diameter, and weighed 800lb. In 1851 the same house sent to the London Exhibition the largest piece of sawn ivory ever seen; it was 11ft. in length and 1ft. broad. There are several kinds of ivory; that which is brought from the Western coast of Africa, except Gaboon, is much less elastic than other sorts, and not so easily brought to perfect whiteness by the working. Since the conquest of Algeria by France, the ivory trade has considerably increased in the north of Africa, which receives its supply from the caravans crossing the Desert. The hippopotamus also yields ivory, which is much harder and less elastic than that of the elephant, besides being of much smaller dimensions.—*Galignani.*

—ooo—

RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

From the 20th of December, 1863, to the 20th of January, 1864.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

By Rev. F. Butler, (\$67 87.)
Plymouth—Cong. Ch. and
 Soc. \$19, in part to con-
 stitute Rev. Henry A. Ha-
 zen, L. M.; Methodist Epis.
 Ch., \$3 62..... \$22 62
Sanborton—Hon. Asa P.

Cate, \$2; Mrs. A. H. Til-
 ton, \$3..... \$5 00
Francetown—Israel Batchel-
 der, \$2; Stephen Holt,
 George Kingsbury, Rev.
 Charles Cutler, \$1 ea..... 5 00
Henniker—A. D. L. F. Con-
 nor, \$10; Mrs. M. L. N.
 Connor, Dea. H. Childs,

\$5 ea.; J. Wallace, \$2;
W. Berry, Rev. J. M. R.
Eaton, \$1 ea. \$24 00
Laconia—Dea. Orrin Bug-
bee, \$1; a friend, 25 cts.. 1 25
Miscellaneous 10 00

67 87

VERMONT.

By Rev. F. Butler, (\$8.)
Cornwall—Barlow L. Rowe. 3 00
West Townshend—Rev. Seth
S. Arnold 5 00

8 00

RHODE ISLAND.

By Rev. Dr. Orcutt, (\$127.)
Providence—Rob. H. Ives,
\$25; George Hail, \$11;
James Y. Smith, Mrs. Ar-
nold and daughter, Miss
Julia Bullock, ea. \$10; A.
D. Smith, Miss Elizabeth
Waterman, Miss A. L.
Harris, R. Waterman, H.
A. Rogers, Earl P. Mason,
Gilbert Congdon, Prof.
Dunn, J. Rogers, ea. \$5;
Mrs. S. A. Paine, J.
Steere, C. E. Carpenter,
B. White, E. Davis, each
\$3; W. C. Snow, \$1 127 00

NEW YORK.

Kingston—W. H. Reynolds
—amount collected in his
family for the years 1862
and 1863, viz: in bank
notes, \$63; in silver dimes,
\$5 68 00

PENNSYLVANIA.

By Rev. Dr. Orcutt, \$242.
Philadelphia—Joseph Harri-
son, \$100. Thos. Richard-
son & Co., \$25. C. H. P.,
\$20. G. W. Fahnestock,
\$15. Workman & Co.,
Cash, Samuel Bettle, Eli
K. Price, G. F. Lee, Wm.
V. Pettit, each \$10. Rev.
H. F. Hurn, John Wie-
gand, S. H. Perkins, Rob.
C. Grier, each \$5. W. H.
Drayton, \$2 242 00

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Miscellaneous—..... 3886 97

OHIO.

New Concord—Collection in
Pleasant Hill congrega-
tion, per Rev. John Mil-
holland \$3 15
By Rev'd B. O. Plimp-
ton, (\$25) viz:
Youngstown—Cramer Mars-
teller and Edward Moore,
\$5 each. Dr. Stephens,
\$10, Thomas Wood, \$5... 25 00

28 15

FOR REPOSITORY.

RHODE ISLAND.

Bristol—Mrs. Samuel Brad-
ford, and Hon. Benj. Hall,
for '64 2 00

CONNECTICUT.

Centre Brook—Wm. Red-
field, for '63 1 00

NEW YORK.

Norwich—D. Buttolph 1 00

NEW JERSEY.

Elizabethtown—Miss Laura
Crittenden, for '64 1 00

OHIO.

Chegrin Falls—Wm. Luse;
Massilon—C. B. McAbee;
Palmyra—Stephen Ed-
wards, for '64, each \$1.... 3 00

WISCONSIN.

By Rev'd A. Callender, viz:
Oakley—M. G. Kasson,
Isaac Trembley, Rev'd W.
B. Cooley, W. Kenyon, \$1
each
Rock Grove—B. Chambers,
W. Barber, \$1 each
Juda—Watt & Graham, Mrs.
P. Minghimer, \$1 each.... 8 00
CEYLON—Miss Elizabeth Ag-
new, Missionary, paid by
Samuel Gordon, Boston... 1 00
Total Repository 17 00
Donations 541 02
Miscellaneous 3886 97
Aggregate 4444 99

112.13, 1864